2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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between brother and sister and of each of these to the children of the other.

The following are the kinship terms in use among the Shilluk :—

Wa, wia . Father, father's brother, father's father's father's son's son (paternal great grandfather's grandson). It is doubtful whether the father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband should correctly be called *wa*. When a man knew such relatives personally he would probably call them *wa* by courtesy, while if he did not they would be to him the husbands of his *waja* and *ma* and he would accordingly use descriptive terms. From politeness a man may also call his father-in-law (*ora*) *wa*.

Maiya . . Mother, sometimes also used for husband's mother.

Wat (pl. *wide*) Son.

Nyura . . Children.

Uwa . . Brother (son of father), "father's" brother's son.

Nyiwa . . Sister (daughter of father), "father's" brother's daughter.

Umia . . Brother (son of mother), wife's brother as a polite form of address.

Nyimia . . Sister (daughter of mother), wife's sister.

Ma . . Mother's sister.

Uma . . Son of *ma*.

Nyima . . Daughter of *ma*.

Na . . Mother's brother, mother's paternal grandfather's grandson.

Una . . Son of *na*.

Nyina . . Daughter of *na*.

Waja . . Father's sister, husband's sister.

Uwaja . . Father's sister's son.

Nywaja . . Father's sister's daughter.

Mia . . Father's brother's wife.

Oka . . Sister's son.

Nyuka . . Sister's daughter.

Kwa . . Father's father, mother's father, father's father's brother, husband's father.

Wanga . . Father's mother, mother's mother, husband's mother.

Kwara . . Son's children, daughter's children.

Ora . . (m.s.) Wife's father, wife's father's brother, wife's mother, wife's mother's sister, wife's brother, daughter's husband, wife's brother's wife, sister's husband; also the husband of all cousins, the wife's mother's mother, the mother of any *uwa*.

(w.s.) Husband's *umia* and husband's *uma*.

Yura . . The *uwa* of the husband; sometimes used by men for wife of brother, but *cimada* is more correct.

Nuka[1] . . Co-wife, husband's brother's wife.

[1] This word must not be confused with *nyuka* "sister's daughter". To the Shilluk the words were so different that they could not understand why we confused them. We have made a difference in spelling, but the difference—extremely difficult for the untrained ear to detect—may either be tonic or in the initial consonant, as there are three different *n* sounds in Shilluk.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

a. = adjective	E. = and the following
adv. = adverb	* before a word means that the word or form is not really existing, but hypothetical
A. E. S. = The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; vide "Authors Quoted"	- standing between two nouns designates the first of the two as a singular, the second as a plural, e. g. *ádjo-ádjr* means: *ádjo* is the singular, *ádjr* the plural
interr. = interrogative	
n. = noun, also verbal noun	< means: is derived from
prep. = preposition	> means: changes into.
rel. = relative	
v. = verb	
v. a. = verb active	
v. n. = verb neuter	
verb. n. = verbal noun	

[194] The verb in the present tense has generally low tone on both syllables, therefore the tones are not designated in this case.

197 Names of Languages and Dialects abbreviated.

Al. = Alur	Ju. = Jur
Any. = Anywak	La. = Lango
Ba. = Bari	Nu. = Nuba
Bo. = Bongo	Nr. = Nuer
Di. = Dinka	N. = Nupe
E. = Ewe	Shi. = Shilluk
Ef. = Efik	T. = Tíi
G. = Gã	Y. = Yoruba
Ga. = Ganj	V. = Vai

Ja. = Ja-Luo (*Nyifwa*).

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FIRST SECTION: THE SOUNDS.

THE VOWELS.

Enumeration of the Vowels and their Pronunciation.

●194 The *quality* of vowels is marked by signs *below* the letters, the *quantity* is marked by signs *above* the letters. *Long* vowels are marked by a line, thus: ā = long a. All vowels which have no mark above, are *short*.

a is the pure short "Italian" a, the same sound as in English father, only *short*, while a in father is long. The short pure a does not exist in English, but in French, as ami, and in German hatte. Ex.: *kal* fence, *mak* catch!

ǫ is a little narrower than a, but wider than ɛ. The Shilluk a sometimes, especially when pronounced rapidly, has a tendency to turn into ǫ, for instance ŋa "child", and *ma* "which", when standing in compound words, are generally spoken ŋǫ, *mę* or even *mɛ*; mǫ, mɛ.

ɛ (Bell æ low-front), as in English fat, man, perhaps a little more tending towards e, as in English let, well. Ex.: *kɛ̄* go! *bɛ̄* fish-spear.

e (Bell e mid-front) as in French *été*. This sound is not frequent. Ex.: *atet* ichasumon.

ę (Bell eh mid-mixed), a very short, and almost voiceless sound, like e in below, fishes, or like a in idea. It is the so-called 'helping vowel'. The short e does not occur at the end of a word, whereas ę very often finishes a word. In all these cases e is written instead of ę. Thus e at the end of a word is always to be read ę. Only where ę stands in the middle of a word, it is marked ę; ex.: *ręk* killed.

i (Bell i high-front) like i in bit, pity; ex.: *wiji* arrived, *kjaau* thus.

í as in beer, keen, he, but *shorter*; ex.: *abikygí* six.

ǫ (Bell a mid-back), a sound between a and o, like u in but; ex.: *ǫǫt* river.

o (Bell o low-back), as in not, folly; ex.: *ǫǫ* him, *ǫǫl* court, *ńǫl* cut. If ǫ stands at the end of polysyllabic words, it is pronounced very faintly, so that often merely an ę is heard. But on close attention one will in most cases hear the ǫ. In analogy with ę, this ǫ ought to be written ǫ, but as it occurs at the end of words with more than one syllable only (and ǫ never occurs here), I always write ǫ instead of ǫ.

o like o in note, mote, but shorter and narrower, and without the final sounding of u, which the English o in note has. In French beau, German so, ital. dolore. Ex.: *loŋ* club.

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ɯ (Bell u high-back), as in English full, put, ex.: *bɯ* to have not.
u like Engl. fool, mood, but *shorter*. French sou. Ex.: *kudę* to be silent.

System of the Vowels.

Long Vowels.

All vowels, including ɨ, may be long.
ā (Bell a mid-back) engl. father, ital. padre, German Vater.
ą̄ between ā and ą̄, almost as ɤ in further; ex.: *fą̄ḍ̣ę* to fall.
ę̄ almost as a in careful, ai in laird, ei in heir; ex.: *ɠɤ̄ɤ* people, *ńḍ̣ɛ̄ɛ* much.
ō as o in save, bale; ex.: *yōṇɤ* to sweep.
ɔ̄: *yɔ̄t* roads.
ī: *chīɲ* bowels.
ī (Bell i high-front) as in meal, bear; ex.: *rīāg* to run.
ō (Bell o mid-back), as o in mole, note, but narrower, and without the final sound of u. which is peculiar to this English o; ex.: *chōṇ́* it is finished.
ū: *wūt́* not yet.
ū as oo in fool, cool; ex.: *rūmę* to think.

Remarks.

1. The vowels are pronounced with a soft aspiration (the so-called gradual glottid).
2. *i* and *u*, when standing in a closed syllable, that is a syllable ending in a consonant, generally are pronounced almost *ɪ* and *ɯ*.
3. In forming *ɯ* and *ɪ* the mouth is wider opened than in the formation of *u* and *i*; *ɯ* and *ɪ* may therefore be called wide vowels, while *u* and *i* are narrow. (In forming *u* the hind-part of the tongue is raised, in forming *ɯ* it is lowered; likewise in the formation of *i* the forepart of the tongue is raised, and in forming *ɪ* it is lowered.
4. According to their place of formation in the mouth *u*, *ɯ* and *o* are back (or velar) vowels, *i*, *ɪ*, *e*, *ɛ* are front (palatal) vowels.
5. The language has no nasal vowels.
6. *o* and *ɔ*, *e* and *ɛ* are not so strictly distinguished as is done in some other languages.

Diphthongs.

194 *ai* as *y* in *ryy*. *au* as *ow* in fowl. *gi* as *oi* in oil.
ou as *o* in note, but the *u* sound is more distinct than in the English *o*.
ei almost as *ei* in eight, but the *i* is heard more distinctly than in English; *ei* and *ou* are almost two-syllabic.

The sounds *ch*, *j*, *sh* and *s*, when following a vowel, generally have a slight *i* sound before them, which combines with the preceding vowel to a diphthong. This *i* sound is, however, not expressed in writing, because 1. it occurs regularly before the said consonants, and 2. some individuals pronounce it so slightly, that in some cases one may doubt, whether it really exists. Thus *pach* "house" is to be pronounced *paich*; *ppch* "beaten": *ppich*; *bosg* "to refuse": *boisg*.

This *i* sound is best heard in those cases, where the preceding vowel is *a*, *e* or *y*.

If, however, a vowel follows the above mentioned consonants, so that the word does not end in a consonant, but becomes two-syllabic, the *i* sound sometimes disappears altogether. The reason for this is, the connection between the first vowel and the second consonant not being so narrow here as is the case in a monosyllabic word. Thus "*ppich*" is pronounced "*ppich*", but *pijy* hardly has any *i* sound. Likewise "*lach*" = "*laich*", but *lijy* = *li-jy* without an *i* sound.

Semivowels.

y as *y* in *yes*; it has never the vocalic value as in the English *ryy*.
w as *w* in *well*; *w* is sometimes pronounced with almost unrounded lips.
y and *w* are unsyllabic *i* and *u*.

When following a vowel, also when beginning a word, *y* and *w* have a slight *i* and *u* sound before them; thus *yiyy* to believe almost sounds *iyiyy*, *wor* night and *ewe* yesterday almost sound *uwor*, *euwe*. These *i* and *u* sounds are not expressed in writing.

Combinations of consonant and semivowel are very frequent.

THE CONSONANTS.

Enumeration of the Consonants and their Pronunciation.

b as in English; Ex.: *bosg* to refuse.
ch is a palatal *t*; in phonetic writing *t'*; it is therefore not quite the same sound as in church, child. The sound is articulated *further back in the mouth*, and therefore is *thinner*. Ex.: *chol* Shilluk. See also *j* and *sh*.

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d as in English; Ex.: *dįnɔ* to fall; when standing between two vowels, it is hardly distinguishable from *r*.

ḍ is an interdental *d*; put the tongue between the teeth-rows, so that it is visible from without between the teeth, then press it lightly against the upper teeth, and pronounce a *d*. Ex.: *ḍạ̀k* mouth.

f as in English; sometimes *f*, that is, an *f* pronounced with both lips (while *f* is formed by pressing the lower lip against the upper teeth, in forming *f* both lips are pressed together) is used instead of *f*. Ex.: *fțįɛ̀* to divide.

g always hard, as in garden, gold, never as in George. Ex.: *gɔ́n* him.

h occurs only in some exclamations; it is sounded a little stronger than the English *h* in he; e. g. *hɛ́h* exclamation of surprise (*ɛ* followed by a strong aspiration).

ɣ might be called a fricative *g*; it is in the same relation to *g*, as *v* is to *b*. It might be compared with the Arabic Ghain, but is much softer, and its place of articulation does *not lie so far back in the throat* as that of Ghain. Ex.: *ɣɔ́n* him, *ɣɔ́n* thigh. In forming *ɣ* the *back* part of the tongue has nearly the same position as in the pronunciation of *u*, but the lips are of course not rounded.

j is a palatal *d*; in phonetic writing *d'*; it is therefore not quite the same sound as the English *j* in jest, just. It is articulated a little *further back* in *the mouth*, and therefore sounds thinner. Ex.: *jɔ̀ŋɔ* chief. — *ch* and *j* have the same place of articulation; the middle of the tongue's back is pressed against the hind-part of the hard palatum.

k l m n are as in English. But *l*, when standing at the end of a word, is rolled, almost as the English pronounce the *ll* in well.

ɲ is a palatal *n*; it is pronounced like *ñ* in cañon, or like Italian and French *gn* in signore, seigneur. Its pronunciation is somewhat difficult, if it stands at the end of a word; here sometimes foreigners pronounce *ń* instead of *ɲ*. This can easily be avoided by adding the so-called 'helping vowel' to *ɲ*; instead of saying *let* war, say *leɲe*. Compare also such French words as Compiègne, Champagne, where also *ɲ* ends a word. Ex.: *ɲɛ́n* child.

ŋ is an interdental *n*, pronounced by putting the tongue between the teeth, as in *ḍ*. Ex.: *ɣəŋ gwí* this tree.

ń is a velar *n*; it is pronounced like ng in singer, or like *n* in Con-go. Its pronunciation is only difficult at the beginning of a word. Divide: *ni-ngur*, and pronounce "ngur" only; this ng is exactly the sound *of ń*. Ex.: *fțįɛ̀* to divide, *ńɔ́ŋ* to cut.

p as in English.

r is formed with the tongue's end. It is not rolled (trilled), but pronounced

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● 194 very slightly, so that often between two vowels, *r* and *d* are hardly distinguishable.

ch is formed farther back in the mouth than the English sh. *It is nearly the same sound as the German ch in "ich, dich"*; in phonetic writing *ɟ*. When *ch*, *sh* and *j* stand before the vowels *e ɛ o ɔ u*, they are accompanied by a hissing sound, so that they tend somewhat more to the English ch, sh and j, but they are never identical with them.

ŧ is an interdental *s*, it is pronounced as the sharp th in thing.

t as in English.

ʈ is the interdental *t*; it is formed just in the same way as *ɖ*, only the tongue is pressed more tightly between the teeth, and thus a t is produced.

ʂ is an interdental *z*, like th in these.

System of the Consonants.

	Mutes		Fricatives		Liquids	Nasals	Semi-vowels
	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiced			
Velars	*k*	*g*	—	*ɣ*	—	*ŋ*	—
Palatals	*ch*	*j*	*sh*	—	—	*ɲ*	*y*
Alveolars	*t*	*d*	—	—	*r l*	*n*	—
Interdentals	*ʈ*	*ɖ*	*ŧ*	*ʂ*	—	*ɳ*	—
Labials	*p*	*b*	*f, ʃ*	—	—	*m*	*w*

Remarks.

1. The consonants *m*, *n*, *l* and *r* may form a syllable, thus having the quality and function of a vowel; in these cases they are designated thus: *m̩*, *n̩*, *r̩*, *l̩*; they may then also have their own tones.

2. The consonants *g*, *k* may have a twofold pronunciation. When standing before a velar vowel they are articulated further back in the mouth than before a palatal vowel; the *g* in *gu* and *k* in *ku* lie farther back than the *g* in *gin*, and *k* in *kinen*; but this difference in pronunciation is not marked by different signs.

3. Double consonants are rare, but are sometimes pronounced, for instance the *l* in *Cholɔ̀* "Shilluk" is frequently pronounced distinctly long: *Cholɔ̀ll̀ I also heard pɔ̀ŋŋ lim* to weed grass, besides *pɔ̀ŋ*; *kìĺ l mɔ̀ŋŋ́* it is raining.

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CHANGE OF SOUNDS.

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The change of sounds takes a large and important part in the *grammar* of the Shilluk language.

In order to show the changes which certain sounds have undergone, it is in some cases necessary to take the neighbouring related languages into consideration; they in many instances help to clear up transformations of sounds and to demonstrate older forms of sounds which from the Shilluk alone cannot be seen.

Change of Vowels.

Quantity.

Long and short vowels are in Shi. not always so strictly distinguished as is done in other Sudan languages. There is, in certain cases, some liberty in using a long or a short vowel; but in other cases again the lengthening or shortening of a vowel means different grammatical functions. The most important of the changes will be given here.

Frequently a vowel is long when standing in an open syllable, that is, a syllable ending in a vowel, but it becomes short, when standing in a closed syllable (a syllable ending in a consonant) *of the same word*: *yón* I, but *yɛ́l* I; *yín* you, but *yɛ́l* you; *wal* boy, *wɔ́r* my boy; *jal* man, *jɔ́l* man; *fɔ́* not, *fíŋ* not.

The demonstrative *n* (see 138) causes the preceding vowel to become long. The reason for this may be that *n* was originally an independent word (*ɛn*), with a vowel of its own, the quantity of this vowel being added to the vowel preceding *n*: *ánɛ* man, *ɔ́n* this man.

A vowel may be lengthened at will, in order to intensify the meaning of a word, e. g.: *á kíːdí* he was silent; *á kíːdíː* he was silent for a long time, he remained in a deep, musing silence; *á dʒ́ːŋ* he is strong, *á dʒ́ːŋːŋ* he is (something) in a high degree; *á dʒ́ːŋ́ː yí rɔ́ːɲ*, or: *á dʒ́ːŋ́ːŋ́ː yí rɔ́ːɲ* he is very, very strong in badness, he surpasses everything in badness, is exceedingly bad. Chiefly some adjectives may lengthen their vowel exceedingly, so that instead of one line above the vowel, two or three ought properly to be written: *ʌ́ɲ́ː* strong *ʌ́ɲ́ː* very strong, *rɔ́ɲ́ː* bad, *rɔ́ɲ́ː* or *rɔ́ɲ́ː*, very bad; often when such an adjective is said twice (see 151), the second time the vowel is lengthened: *ʌ́ɲ́ː ʌ́ɲ́ː*, *rɔ́ɲ́ː rɔ́ɲ́ː*.

Interjections also may have short, long or very long vowel according to the degree of excitement which is to be expressed.

In fluent speech frequently a vowel is shortened, which is pronounced long, if the word is spoken alone.

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In the vocative case the (last) vowel becomes long: *ńàtè* man, *ńàtɛ̀* o man! (see also 129).

Regular changes of vowel-quantity take place in forming singular and plural of nouns, and in forming the tenses of the verb. Of these only a few examples are given here, for more see 123, 156 ss.

Singular short vowel	Plural long vowel
òkɔ̀k-òkɔ̂̀k egret;	*òrɔ̀k-òrɔ̂̀k* astuteness.
Singular long vowel	Plural short vowel
ółɔ̂̀gɔ̀-ółɔ̀k albino;	*gɔ́ɲì-gɔ́chì* sword.

In Verbs:

yâ gɔ̄jɔ̄ I am beating *yá gɔ́ch* I was beaten *yâ nɔ̄gɔ̄* I kill
yá nɛ́ka ɡɔ̄ɲ I killed a man.

Frequently a change of quantity coincides with a change of quality; see below.

Quality.

Here again the changes in the formation of singular and plural and in the tenses and modes of the verb are of prominent importance; a few examples will suffice here; for more see 124.

It is particularly to be observed in the following examples that, as mentioned above, frequently change of quality and of quantity coincide, and that in some cases a change of tone is added to these two. No doubt these changes have influenced each other, one causing, or cooperating in causing, the other.

A most prominent change is that of a long or short *a* or *ɑ*, and in some cases *ɛ* being reduced to *ɛ*:

a > *ɛ*: *agák-agɛ́kì* crow *ógwàl-ógwɛ̀ɲ̀ì* frog *ógwàk-ógwɛ́kì* crane
ólák-ólɛ́kì a fish.

ā > *ɛ*: *ólām-ólɛ́mì* sycomore *ɲ̄āl-ɲ̄ɛ̄t* spoon *kwɔ̄rɔ̀-kwɛ́rì* pole.

ɑ > *ɛ*: *rɑt* king (older form), *rɛ́t* (properly *rɛ́t*)[1] king (present form); *rɑt* is still used in a composition: *rɑt lgbɔ* king of the people, and when possessive pronouns are added: *rɔ̄ɡa* my king.
wɑ́lɔ and *wɛ́lɔ* to arrive; *wɑt* heads, *wɛ́tɛ ńu* heads of lions; *dɑk* third, *adɛ́k* three. Here always *ɑ* represents the older, *ɛ* the younger form.

ɛ̄ > *ɛ*:

bɛ̄ɡɔ to boil	past	*bɛ̄k*	*ɲ̄ɡdɔ* to be tired	past	*ɲ̄ɛ̄t*
ɲ̄ɡnɛ to hide	past	*ɲ̄ɛ́mì*	*kɡdɔ* to bring	past	*kɛ̄l*
kɛ̄ɡɔ to ache	past	*kɛ̄k*	*kɡdɔ* to twist	past	*kɛ̄l*
nɔ̄ɡɔ to kill	past	*nɔ̄k*	*kɡbɔ* to take	n.	*kɛ̄pɔ̀*
pɡɛ́ɔ to fill	and	*pɛ́kɔ* to fill	*kɡdɔ* to bring	and	*kɛ́lɔ* to bring
ɲ̄ɡdɔ to be tired	and	*ɲ̄ɛ́dɔ* to be tired			
kɡdɔ to twist	and	*kɛ́dɔ* to twist.			

[1] In some words my materials give *ɛ́*, where *ɛ* was to be expected; this is doubtless misheard. For "king" *rɛ́t* being introduced already, I keep this orthography instead of writing *rɛ́t*, which would be more correct.

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ɐ, ā〉ɛ: *ódɛ̀k-ódɛ́k* a mat *ótɐ̀t-ótɛ́t* a pot *ótwɐ̀l-ótwɛ́l* a fish
alɐ̀bɛ́-alɛ́pì a bird *ótɐ̀t-ólɛ́t* hawk.

In all these cases except a few, the vowel ɛ has high or high-low tone. Even in the verbs with double forms, e. g. *fɑ̄dɐ* and *fɛdɐ* to be tired, the second form originates from a form with high tone, see 188. It is therefore hardly to be doubted that *the high tone is the cause of the vowel being reduced to* ɛ.

ɐ〉ɐ〉ɛ. The singular of the noun, and the present tense of the verb end in ɐ, which was no doubt originally ɐ. This ɐ is very often pronounced ɛ. The reason for this is that the emphasis (stress-tone) always lies on the stem-syllable, consequently the pronunciation of ɐ (ɐ) is neglected and is reduced to ɛ. In the first instances it is the high tone, in the last the absence of a stress, which causes the reduction of a full vowel to ɛ.

A short, pure *a*, when lengthened, often becomes ɑ; there is a general tendency in the language to pronounce a long *a* as ɑ, so that it is sometimes difficult to decide, whether one ought to write ā or ɑ; often there are no doubt individual differences.

àchwɑ́t-àchwɑ̄t guinea-fowl *kàl-kɑ̄l* fence *dák-dɑ̄k* pot
chɑ̄lɐ to mix past *chapa* *lɑ̄gɐ* to inherit past *laka*.
But mark the opposite: *ńwɑ̄lɐ* to touch past *ńwɑtí* *ńārɐ* to gnarl past *ńɑrí*.

Long or short a or ɑ 〉 *short* ɛ. Here the coincidence of change of quantity with change of quality is the rule: *a long* ā or ɑ becomes *a short* ɛ. The shortening of the vowel is probably the prius; its consequence was *a* and ɑ becoming ɛ.

mɑ́ and *mɛ́* which
kepā and *kepɛ* because
kādɐ and *kɛdɐ* to go
lwāś and *lwɑ́t* poor, worthless
gwārɐ to snatch, past *gwɑr*
yɑ̄t-yɛ̄t tree
lɑ̄gɐ and *lɛkɐ* to dream
pɑ̄ńɐ and *pɛkɐ* to fill

ńa and *ńɛ* child
jāgɐ and *jɛkɐ* to rule
kwālɐ and *kwɛtɐ* to steal
gwāńɐ to err, past *gwɑ́t*
mā-mɛk aunt
ya and *yɛ́a* (from *yaśa*) to be
yɑ̄bɐ and *yɛbɐ* to open
lɑ̄bɐ and *lɛpɐ* mud.

But mark: *rach* bad *rɛ́ńɐ* to become bad; *atɛ́ń-atā́ń* hat; *yɛ́-yɑ̄t* boat.

In the double forms of verbs the form with ā is the primitive, from which that with ɛ is derived; see 188.

a and *ɔ* change in: *ńājɐ* and *ńɔ́jɐ* to know.
e and *ɛ* change in: *dɛ̀t-dɛ́t* mangouste *ańɛ̀ń-ańɛ́n* red ant *ówɛ̀t-ówɛ́t* a mat.
i and *e* change in: *wīdɐ* to exchange past *wīla*
līkɐ to come stealthily past *līpa*.
vice versa: *yɛ̀t-yɛ́t* scorpion, *yɛ̀t-yɛ́t* a well.

*193 *i* and *ɛ* change in: *rīṅɛ* to run; past *a rɛ̄n*.

●194 *ɛ* and *ɣ*, *u* change in: *gɛrɛ* and *gurɛ* to tattoo, *rɛ̄mɛ* and *rūmɛ* to meet

ɔkɛ̀dɛ̀-ɔkɛ̀tɛ̀ hedgehog *mɛgɛ-myki* beer *kɛch-kuchi* axe.

vice versa: *kudɛ* to pull out, past *kɛla*, *fudɛ* } to pull
ńudɛ to cut, past *ńɛla* *fuɲɛ* } out
lūgɛ to turn past *lɛgi*; *rum-orɛm* nose.

o and *ɛ* change in: *dńɔ́ń-ańɔ̀ńɛ̀* a knife *chōr-chɔ̀r* vulture
bɔ̀r-bɔ̀r boil; and: *toch-toach* gun; this last example suggests that *o* was changed into *ɛ* by an inserted *a*.

o and *u* change in: *kɔ̄dɛ* to fasten n. *kūdɔ̀*; *chudɛ* and *chōlɛ* to avenge, *kuno* and *kɔ̄dɛ* to blow up.

*193 The vowels *ɛ* and *ɛ* can in many cases be shown to be not primitive.

194 *ɛ* < *a*.

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lɛk tooth	Any. *lak*			*wɛ̄lɛ* to travel	Ba. *wala*		
kɛnɛ gourd	Ju. *kano*			*kɛch* bitter, sharp	Nu. *kagal* sharp		
ńwɛch smell	Any. *ńwai*						
nɛnɛ to sleep	Nu. *nalu*			*nɛ̄no* to see	Nu. *nale*		
kwɛn bread	Ju. *kwɛn*	Nr. *kwɛn*,	Bo. *koā*	*ńɛ̄ńɛ* much	Nr. *ńwan*		
kyɛ́ horse	Ju. *akaja*	Ga. *kańa*;		(*chwe* fat	Nr. *chwa*()		
ańwɛn four	Nr. *ńwān*			*ńyɛ́* metal	Ju. *gańa*.		

In these words the form with *a* is doubtless the older one; in Shi. *a* has, from reasons not known, changed into *ɛ* (or *e*).

ɛ < *ia*.

pɛ̄k to be heavy	Any. *pyak*		
ɛ̄k to be hard	Di. *tyek (tyɛk?)*	Bo. *tigo*	
pɛchɛ, pyɛ̄chɛ to ask	Ba. *pija*		
rɛ̄mɛ blood, Ba. *rima*,	Bo. *trama*,	Nr. *ryɛm*.	

These words have originally the vowels *ia*, of which *i* probably is the oldest; see Bo. *tigo* and Ba. *pija*, *rima*, here the second vowel, *a*, is not yet added. When *a* was suffixed, the first vowel, *i*, became unsyllabic, that is, it turned into *y*; this form is preserved in *pyak*; *a* was then assimilated to *i* (*y*) and thus turned into *ɛ*: *tyɛk*, *pyɛ̄chɛ*, *ryɛm*; finally in Shi. the *y* was absorbed wholly by *ɛ*, and *ɛ̄* remained; but, as the examples show, in many words both forms, *ɛ̄* and *yɛ*, are still existing.

ɛ < *wa* or *ua*.

w or *u* preceding an *a* has often assimilated the *a*, so it became *ɛ*; in certain cases the *u* or *w* has then been wholly absorbed by *ɛ*, so that *ua*, *wa* > *wɛ* > *ɛ*.

Compare the following examples:

wá and *wɛ́* we; *wá* is the primitive, *wɛ* the influenced form; likewise: *gwāńɛ*

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and *gwǭńǫ* to scratch, *ńudǫ* to cut, *ńālǫ* to butcher, *ńǫtǫ* to cut.

fǭ to die	Ba. *tuan*			*rǭńǫ* to dive	Di. *rwań*		
ywǭńǫ to cry	Ga. *ywak*			*lwǭkǫ* to wash	Nr. *lah*	Ba. *lalaju*	
bǭrǫ afternoon	Ga. *abwar*			*rǭdǫ* thirst	Ga. *orwar*	Ju. *ryau*	
abwǫk maize	Any. *abach*			*ńwǭlǫ* to bear, beget	Ga. *ńwala*		
kwǭrǫ cotton	Ga. *waro*						
gǭjǫ to beat	Any. *gwai*	Bo. *gba*		*āńǫ* what	Nr. *ńu*,	Di. *eńa*	
chwǫu man	Ga. *chwa*	Nr. *chau*		*yǫ* road	*yu tooh* narrow road		
chwǫtǫ to call	Nr. *chal*			*ogwǭk* fox	Nr. *gwak*.		

In these words *ǫ* is evidently an original *a*; in Shi. the *a* has in all cases been assimilated by the preceding *u* or *w*, while in other languages the primitive *a* is preserved. In Shi. *ńudǫ* "to cut", the vowel, *a*, is not yet added; in *ńālǫ* "to butcher", the suffixed *a* has dropped the *u*; here is no assimilation, but simply the elision of *u*; whereas in *ńǫtǫ* both vowels are contracted to one; an analogous case is *āńǫ* what; the primitive vowel is *u*: Nr. *ńu* what; later an *a* was added; before this *a* the primitive vowel *u* dropped in Di.: *eńa* what; in Shi. both vowels were first assimilated and then contracted: *ńǫ* (the beginning *ā* does not belong to the stem, see 124) what. Note also *yǫ* road, but *yu tooh* narrow road, and *yu Fakǫi* the way to F., from original *yu*; this older form is preserved in connections of the word with a determinative; later an *a* was added, which united with *u* to *ǫ*.

Compare also the following words:

omǫrǫ roan antelope	Ju. *omar*	
yǭmǫ wind	Ga. *yamo*	
okǫk blossom	Di. *gak*.	

These either have the same origin as the examples given above, the *w*, *u* having been dropped in both respective languages, or the original vowel is simply *a*, which, for reasons unknown, has become *ǫ* in Shi.

It is of course probable that, in analogy with the development shown above, many, if not all, words with *wǫ*, *yǫ*, and perhaps also those with *ǫ*, *ǫ* had the original vowel *a*, or *ua*, *ia*, though this *a* may no more be visible now in any of the related languages.

Some of these words show that the first of the two vowels *(ia, ua)* was *i*, *u*, and that the *a* was added later; compare *ńudǫ*, *ńālǫ*, *ńǫtǫ*; and *atudǫ* goose, Di. *tuol (tuglʔ)*, Nr. *tuqr*; *ńudǫ* and *atudǫ* are the oldest forms; then *a* was suffixed, see above; in Nr. *tuqr*, *ua* became *uǫ* > *wǫ*, whereas in Shi. *atudǫ* was preserved, no second vowel being added here.

If *a* is a secondary vowel, it must of course have been added for a certain purpose, by adding it the meaning of the word must undergo a change; this is

193 the case in *ńudǫ* to cut and *ńālǫ* to butcher. For more examples of the addition
194 of a second vowel see 70.

197 A good example for *w* being dropped altogether in Shi. is this: *māgǫ* to catch, Ga. *mako*, Ba. *mok*, Di. *mwǫk* ⟨ *mua or *mwa.

A different evolution have

twǫn male, Di. *uton*; *chūńǫ* to heap up, assemble, Di. *wchań*. Here again the primitive vowel is *a*, as is evident from *wchań*; now an *u* — in Di. preserved as *w* — was *pre*fixed to the stem, and in Shi. was received into the stem, so *wchań* ⟩ *chwǫń*, *uton* ⟩ *twǫn*. See also the formation of the passive 173 ss.

So we have two forms of adding a second vowel to the stem:

a) consonant + vowel + vowel: *t* + *u* + *a* ⟩ *twa*, *twǫ*, *tǫ*;

b) vowel + consonant + vowel: *u* + *t* + *a* ⟩ *uta*, *twa*, *twǫ*, *tǫ*.

Assimilation of Vowels.

193 Some assimilations are treated above: *ia* ⟩ *iǫ*, *yɛ*; *ua* ⟩ *uǫ*, *wǫ*. Others are:
194 *wieh* head and *wuch*; *wiłǫ* to arrive, and *wułǫ*: *i* has been assimilated by the preceding *w* and thus become *u*;

ya ǵ "I shall" is often pronounced *ye ɣ*, *yǫ ɣ*;

bwǫyin "there is not", and *biǫin*;

bɣ "not to be", and *boyǫn* "there is not" ⟨ *bɣ* + *gǫn*;

yiǫǫ to become, and *yǫǫǫ*;

tyɛ́l foot, *tyāla* my foot;

bìnáa it is, and *bìnáa*;

kí rɛ "with its body" becomes *kɛ rɛ*;

yí rè why you, but *ǵ rè*, why he;

kí "and", but: *wí kú bǐǐdǫ* you and the smith: *í* is assimilated to the preceding *u*.

ón this, *nú* that; an *í* has been affixed to *an*, and has turned the *a* to *ɛ*. (Note the change of tone in this last example: the low tone designates the nearer, the high tone the farther distance).

Contraction and Elision of Vowels.

Some have been shown above: *ia* ⟩ *ya*, *yɛ* ⟩ *ɛ*; *ua* ⟩ *wa*, *wǫ* ⟩ *ǫ*. Others are:

yí ǵ "you will" ⟩ *yá*. *wí ɛn* his mother ⟩ *wɛn*. *wí ɛn* his father ⟩ *wɛn*.

Where two vowels of different words must together, personal pronouns excepted, one is dropped:

kwōrɣ a my grandfather ⟩ *kwōra*.

kwōrɣ í thy grandfather ⟩ *kwōrí*, and likewise all these connections.

afoachí ak these rabbits ⟩ *afoach ak*.

yí gwǐł āńǫ what are you doing ⟩ *yí gwǐł áǫ?*

yí łǐłǫ odí what do you say ⟩ *yí łǐł odí*, or: *yí kù dí?*

In the nasalization of final consonants a final vowel is dropped: *fāgǫ chief* ⟩ *fāń*; see 127.

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Change of Semivowels.

In forming the singular and plural of nouns and the tenses of verbs, frequent changes of emivowels are to be observed. As is said above, the semivowels within a wrd are probably original vowels, *w* < *u*, *y* < *i*. In many of those cases wherethe *u* or *i* had a *high tone*, it has not become a semivowel, but has retained its original form. If the *u*, *i* with a high tone did become a semivowel, its tone was ransferred to the following vowel; it is sometimes difficult to decide whether one ought to write *úẉ* or *wǘ*.

A few exmples of the changes may be given here; for more see 124 [16 15].

ẉ and *wẉ*: *gẉẉ* to work passive *gwǘk* *kẅ̄bẉ* to speak passive *kwǘp*
ówẉk-ógẅk jackal *ótwẅn-ótẅn* cock
kẅ and *kwẉtẉ* to drive *okwẉr-ókẅr* serval.

vice versa: *wẅk-mwẅk* dog-head fish.

ẅ and *ww*: *kẅ* and *kwẅ̄nẉ* to help *ńotẉ* and *ńwotẉ* to spit.

vice versa: *wẅt-kẅ̄t* shield.

wẉ, *ww* and *ẉ*, *uo*: *ńwotẉ*, *ńuotẉ* and *ńutẉ* to show.

The vowel *u* has been preserved in:

kúṕú to taste, past a *kwẉńa*; *kwẅ̄jẉ* to sew, n. *kúòjẉ*.
ńwẉbẉ to knead, n. *ńúẉbẉ*;
gwòk-gúòk dg; *kwòm-kúòmì* chair; *tẅ̄jẉ* and *túòjẉ* to tie.

Changes between *ẉ* and *yẉ*:

gẅdẉ and *gyẅẉ* to build; *kẅdẉ* and *kyẅdẉ* to dig
fyèr-fèrì back-bone; *ńẅrẉ* to let the milk down, *ńyẅẅẉ* to milk.

The vowel *i* has been preserved in:

gíẅẉ to sacrifice, and *gíẅẉ*; *òbẉch-óbléch* reed
lyèk-líòk elphant; *kyẉdẉ* to refuse, n. *kíẅdẉ*.

y < *w*:

yei soul	Di. *wei*	*gwẅẅẉ* and *gyẅẉ* ring			
gyẉẉ fowl	Any. *gwẉẉ*	*kyẉdẉ* to refuse	Ga. *kwero*		
ẅẅẉ to save	Nr. *lwẅ̄l*	*fyou* heart	Di. *pwou*		
ẉẉ horse	Any. *okwẉẉ*.				

In most of these words the cause of *w* being transformed into *y* may be the following vowel *ẉ*, *e*, which, being palatal, assimilated *w* into the palatal *y*.

Elision of an original *w*:

wẅẉ and *ẅẉ* to send, *ẅẉ* relative by marriage Ga. *wor*.

lwé war	Ga. *lwei*	Ju. *lwiá*	*ẉẉ* people	Ba. *gwea*	
dẅ̄l skin	Ga. *odwel*		*tẉẉ* egg.	Nr. *twẉẉ*	
ẅẅẉ much	Nr. *ńwan*		*mẅ̄ẉ* to catch	Di. *mwẉẉ*	

ẅẅẉ is probably < **ńyẉẉ* < **ńwẉẉ* < **ńwwé*.

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In many of these examples it is to be noted that often a vowel preceded by a semivowel is short, but when the same word appears without a semivowel, the vowel is long: the quantity of the semivowel is added to that of the vowel.

Elision of *γ*: *γɛ́n* and *ɛ́n* he.

Change between *w*, *γ* and *r*. — Though *r* is not a semivowel, it is to be treated here.

In a considerable number of words these three sounds may be interchanged at will. Compare what is said of the nature of *γ* in 9. *γ* and *w* are closely related (they are interchanged in just the same way in Ewe); now the friction which is produced in forming *γ* is, by some individuals, transferred from the back-mouth to the point of the tongue, the velar friction becoming a lingual one, that is, instead of *γ* an *r* is pronounced.

wɛ̀t, *γɛ̀t*, *rwɛ̀t* house — *wūmɛ*, *γūmɛ* and *rūmɛ* to finish
wūmɛ, *γūmɛ* and *rūmɛ* to cover — *wɛ̄mɛ*, *γɛ̄mɛ* and *rɛ̄mɛ* to carry water
γɛ̄jɛ and *rɛ̄jɛ* fish — *wōr* and *rōr* kings
wa, *wɛ* we, Di. *γɛ̀k* — *γɛ̄ńɛ* and *rɛ̄ńɛ* to elect.

γ does not stand before *i*, *o*, and seldom before *u*; here *w* takes its place: *ńaγɛlɛ-ńawuli* axe; *γéŕ* and *wóŕ* a season, *γɛ̄dɛ* and *wīdɛ* to pound.

In *γéŕ-wóŕ* the change from *γ* to *w* has caused a change from *e* to *o*.

Change between *y* and *γ*:

yɛ́ and *γɛ́n* he; — *yā* I — Di. *γa*.

y sometimes corresponds to *j* in Nr. and Any.:

yan I	Nr. *jan*	*yaṭ* tree	Nr. *jaṭ*
yín you	Nr. *jin*	*yiep* tail	Nr. *jip*
yɛ road	Any. *jɛ*	*yɛ̄mɛ* wind	Any. *jamɛ*
ywɛ̄ńo to cry	Any. *jwɛkɛ* and *juńɛ*.		

Here probably *j* is the older sound; compare the analogous case, where in Shi. a *j* turns into *y*: 46.

When a noun ending in *u* receives a vowel-suffix, a *w* is inserted between both; *ńu* lion *ńuwí* lions; or, if *u* is part of a diphthong, it becomes *w*: *fyóu* heart, *fyówɔ̀* my heart; see 135.

Change of Consonants.

Interchange.

Some consonants may be interchanged at will, one individual preferring the one, another the other consonant; often the same individual in the same words now uses the one, a little while later the other consonant. The younger generation of the people, and chiefly all strangers speaking the language, prefer the fricative sounds.

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These consonants are:

ch and *sh* *ḍ* and *ʒ* *ṭ* and *ʂ* *p* and *f* or *ʃ*.

According to the general laws of evolution in African languages, *ch ṭ ḍ p* are to be regarded as the older, *sh ʂ ʒ* and *f ʃ* as the younger sounds. — *t* never changes with its corresponding sound, which would be *s*; the natives are not able, unless expressly taught, to pronounce an *s*.

Assimilation.

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The consonants *k ch ṭ ʈ p, when standing at the end of a word,* can be pronounced in two ways. They are voiceless, that is a real *k ch ṭ ʈ p* is to be pronounced, if 1. the word stands alone or at the end of a sentence; 2. if it is followed by a voiceless consonant. They are voiced, that is, they are to be pronounced *g j ḍ ɖ b* 1. if they are followed by a voiced consonant, 2. if they are followed by a vowel (an exception to this rule see 139 and 143). *But these consonants are always written voiceless.* This rule is suggested merely by practical regards: it would, for instance in school-practice, be troublesome, to write the same word with different sounds.

Real pronunciation	Usual writing	
ḍɔg jal	*ḍɔk jal*	the cattle of the man
ḍɔk ʈɛrɔ	*ḍɔk ʈɛrɔ*	the cattle of the people
riḍ lɑbɔ	*riṭ lɑbɔ*	the king of the people
riṭ ʈɛ̄	*riṭ ʈɛ̄*	the king died
kwɔb obwoṅ	*kwɔp obwoṅ*	the talk of the stranger
kwɔp ʈɛrɔ	*kwɔp ʈɛrɔ*	the talk of the people.

If one consonant of a word is interdental, the rest of the consonants in the same word, if *t, d* or *n*, become in most cases likewise interdental:

ḍān man, *ḍiḍɔ* to make straight, *ḍɔ̄ḍin* hot season, *ḍɔ̄ḍɔ* to suck, *ḍuoḍɔ* to rise, *ʈaʈaḍi* a pole for pulling boats; in some connections even the consonant of another word may become interdental: *yaʈ* tree, *dugi* large, *yaṇ ḍugi* a large tree; between *n* and *ḍ* the tongue does *not change its position. But observe: ʈo tyɛ̄lɔ* heel, literally "base of the foot", here each of the two words is still felt as independent, therefore no assimilation takes place.

Assimilation is also to be observed in the *law of nasalization:*

k + *n* > *ṅ*	*ch* + *n* > *ṅ*
ṭ + *n* > *n*	*ʈ* + *n* > *ṇ*
p + *n* > *m*	*gɔ* + *n* > *ṅ*
jɔ + *n* > *ṅ*	*dɔ* + *n* > *n*
ḍɔ + *n* > *ṇ*	*bɔ* + *n* > *m*

Examples see 140.

Consonants influenced by vowels.

194 a) A mute voiceless consonant standing between vowels generally shows a tendency of becoming voiced. Thus nearly in all verbs in the present tense the second consonant is voiced: *kɔ̄dǫ*, *gɔ̄dǫ*, *gɔ̄gǫ*, *kɔ̄bǫ* etc.; and in those which have preserved a voiceless consonant, often, when the word is spoken rapidly, the consonant is pronounced almost voiced, or at least not as *k t* etc., but as a somewhat hard *g*, *d*, etc. (what in German phonology is called "voiceless lenis").

b) See 38.

Change between voiced and voiceless consonants.

1. See 26, Assimilation.
2. See 41, Consonants influenced by vowels.
3. Sometimes the consonant beginning a word shows a change between voicedness and voicedlessness:

Bachōdǫ and *Pachōdǫ*, Fashoda — *dɔ̀kɔ̀dɔ̀* and *tɔ̀kɔ̀dɔ̀* dura-stick
bɛ̀ and *pɛ̀*, or *fɛ̀* not — *ɟǫk* mouth Any. *tǫk*; *dāk* pot Nr. *ʧɔk*
gɛ́ they, probably reduced from *kwɛ́*; see 131.

4. In the formation of plural a voiced consonant often turns voiceless: *afudǫ* pl. *afutɨ*; see 107.

Combination of Consonants.

The Shi. does not combine two or more consonants in a word without an intervening vowel. A consonant may be combined only with one or more vowels or with a semivowel, never with a second consonant.

If in the connection of noun and possessive pronoun or in the formation of plural two consonants meet together, one is always dropped:

ŋàl boy *ŋàl ra* my boy 〉 *ŋārə* — *yiŋǫ* fisherman plural *yiɟ* 〈 **yiŋɟ*
ŋàl ri thy boy 〉 *ŋārɨ* — *yɛ̀k* belly plural *yɛ́ɟ* 〈 **yɛ̀kɟ*
pach village *pach rɛ* his village 〉 *pārɛ* — *dyɟɛ̀* goat plural *dyɟɛ́k* 〈 **dyɟɛ̀k*
wɛ́k head plural *wɛ́ɟ* 〈 **wɛ́kɟ* — *lwɔ̀ɟ* gourd plural *lɔ̀k* 〈 **lwɔ̀ɟk*.

An *n* has been dropped in certain cases of genetive-formation, *ɟǫ́k n ŋrɛ* becoming *ɟǫ́k ŋrɛ*; see 127.

If two consonants of two different words meet together,

a) both consonants may be preserved; this is generally the case, when the first of the two consonants is a liquid or a nasal one; *jal mɔ̄ŋǫ* some man; *Gol bɔ̀dǫ* a proper-name, *Agun jwɔ̀k* a proper-name; but *ɟɔ̀ɔ̀n gɔ́n* "where are they" becomes *ɟɔ̀ɔ̀ gɔ́n*; and *kal wun* your fence 〉 *kal ūn*.

b) the 'helping vowel' is inserted: *lɛ̀ɔ̀k* tooth, *lɛ̀ɔ̀ka lɛ̀ɔ̀k* the tooth of the elephant; see 127.

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c) a mute consonant is sometimes dropped:
ɟɔk cattle, *ɟɔ rit* cattle of the king
pɔcà village *pɔ̄ rit* village of the king
bat arm *ba jal* arm of the man.

d) *cà* turns into *y*, that is, an unsyllabic *i*:
uicà head *uiy pɔw* head of the table
yecà middle *yey nam* middle of the river.

Changes of single consonants.

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k. An original *k* is dropped in:

wɔ, uɔ we	Nr. *kɔn* ⟨ **kuɔn*	*uarɔ* shoe	Nu. *kuari*
wiiɔ bird	Ba. *kuen*	*orūp* spider	Nu. *kurūbe*
um nose	Ju. *kum*	*wūmɔ* to cover	and *kūmɔ* ⟨ **kuumɔ*.

The opposite state is in:

kuǰrɔ cotton	Ga. *uaro*	*kūtɔ* to pour out	Ga. *oto* ⟨ **kuotɔ*.

Perhaps the primitive state in all these words is a beginning *ku*.

An original *k* has turned into *cà* in

chǰɟɔ to walk	Di. *kat, kaat*	*kɔcà* bitter	Nu. *kaɔɔl*, stem **kaà*
kuacà leopard	Bo. *kɔɔɔ*, Ba. *koko*.		

An original *k* has turned into *t* in *alilit* bat, Di. *alicà*, Ga. *alik*; here *k* ⟩ *cà* ⟩ *t*, *k* being the oldest, *t* the youngest form.

g. A primitive *g* has turned into *j*:
jɔ people, Ba. *guan* tribe.

cà. *cà* has become *y* in connections described in 127.

j. *j* has become *y* in *uāyɔ* aunt, and *uāi (uāy)*.

t d, and *ɟ ǰ*.

1. At the beginning of a word; *t* ⟩ *r*.
rɔmɔ blood Bo. *tuma* *rɔmɔ* and *ɟɔmɔ* to fetch water, Ga. *tuoma*.
t ⟩ *r*: *ɟumɔ* and *rumɔ* to finish.

2. Within or at the end of a word.

t ⟩ *r*: *duatɔ* and *duɔrɔ* to wish, *tɔɟɔ* and *ɟɔrɔ* to carry; *ɟɔr* and *ɟɔt* corner.

t, d ⟩ *l*: *kɔ̄ɟɔ* and *kɔ̄lɔ* to throw *kuātɔ* and *kuālɔ* to steal

kuɔɟɔ to drive	past *kuɔlɔ*	*ǰɔdɔ* to shave	and *ǰɔlɔ*
ātɔ to spit	past *āal*	*yɔdɔ* to curse	and *yɔlɔ*
yɔ̄dɔ to scratch	past *yɔ̄l*	*puɔdɔ* to wink with the lips,	*puɔlɔ* to wink.

ɟ ǰ ⟩ *r*: *nɔ̄ɟɔ* to laugh, n. *nɔ̄ɟɔ̄* *yiɔɟɔ* to cut, past a *yiɔr*
riɟ king pl. *rir*, *ohɟɔ* and *ǰuɔrɔ* womb
riǰɔ thirst Ga. *ornor*
uɔɟ steer, but *uɔrɔ ɟɔɟ*, and *uɔr nam tui* a certain kind of steer.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

194 197 Concerning *t* > *r* (and *ʧ* > *r*?) it may be remarked that in Nr. a final *t* is followed by a strong hissing sound, which sometimes turns into a rolled *r*, and thus makes the *t* disappear altogether. In the same way *t* may have become *r* in Shi., the *tr* in Bo. meaning an intermediate stage between *t* and *r*. *ʧ ǰ* > *l*: *ʧāǰ* to cook, past *ʧāl* *wīǰ* to change, past *wīla*.

More examples for these changes are to be seen in 182; there also the functions of some of the changes are described. The changes of consonants into the corresponding nasal sounds are treated in 140.

The changes of *t d*, *ʧ ǰ* to 1. *r*, 2. *l*, and 3. *n* are doubtless to be traced back to different causes. — Observe also that *t ʧ* at the beginning of a word change into *r* only, in the middle or end of a word they may change to *r* or to *l*.

INTONATION.

194 As in other Sudan languages, the intonation is an important and essential part in Shilluk grammar. Without paying close attention to it, it is not possible to master the language. Intonation is not to be confounded with *accentuation*, which means the stress laid on a particular syllable or word. Intonation means exclusively the highness or lowness of a syllable compared with other syllables. Each syllable has its own tone, which cannot, as is the case in European languages, be changed at will, but is altered only under certain conditions.

The tone can lie on vowels, and on consonants which have the function of vowels: *ŋ m l r*. If in diphthongs only the first vowel has a tone-mark, it is understood that the second vowel has the same tone.

The Shi. has three original tones: a high tone, marked thus: *á*, a low tone: *à*, and a middle tone: *a*. Two tones, and in some cases even three, may combine on one syllable. Generally it is the high and the low tone, which unite on one syllable; so we have the combinations low-high *ǎ* (rising tone) and high-low *â* (falling tone). In the first case the vowel begins with a low tone and then rises; in *â* it is the reverse: at first a high tone, which is lowered at the close of the sound. According to my observation in both cases the high tone is of longer duration than the low, and it seems to me that a particular stress lies on it (see below).

There are also combinations of the high and middle tone *á*, these are fairly frequent, while I have not met with a middle and high tone. One example of three tones on one syllable is given below.

The rising and the falling tone generally occur on syllables with a long vowel, but they are also met with on short vowels, just the falling tone often does so.

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In this case the high tone is clearly prevalent, only just before the sound is stopped, the tone is lowered.

It is difficult to describe the tones or to give analogies for their pronunciation from European languages. In this particular case it is still less advisable, as the author of this book does not write in his own language, and does not feel sufficiently acquainted with English to give examples from it for illustrating the pronunciation of the tones.

[The English as well as other European languages does have different tones, one syllable or word being pronounced higher than others. The difference between European and Sudan languages is, that in the first the observation of the tone is not indispensable in speaking, the meaning of a word is not altered, whether it be pronounced with a high or a low tone; but in Sudan languages the tone is just as essential and integral as are vowels and consonants. Two words with the same sounds, but different tones, are quite different words, which in their etymology and meaning have nothing to do with each other, the conformity in the sounds is in this case to be considered as mere accidental. — On the other hand in European languages the *stress* or *strength* laid on a word is essential, it distinguishes the syllable or word which conveys the chief thought from those which are less important.]

Only some examples of each tone and combination of tones are given here; their pronunciation must be acquired by hearing them from the natives. The student should let a native pronounce these and other examples repeatedly, so long till he is not only able to hear the differences, but to imitate them to the satisfaction of the native. (To do that, one must really try to wholly quit the European mode of pronouncing a word; to give one example: When we pronounce a single word, or, the last word of a sentence, we generally lower the tone of the sound; the Shi. cannot do so, unless the word has a low tone; if it has a high tone, he will pronounce it high, whether it stands at the end of a sentence or not; just mark the first examples which follow here.)

Examples.

High tone: *kín* war, *fín* ground, *yín* I, *gín* they, *dyŋ́l* goat, *ŋkŋ́l* foam.

Low tone: *ŋ̀ŋ̀* people, *ànàn* now; *gìnì* cattle, *pì* water. The high and low tone are easily distinguished, when both meet together: *dìyŋ̀l* one, *ŋ́ŋ̀ŋ̀* three, *ŋ̀ŋ̀* foot, pl. *ŋ̀ŋ́l*; *kí à kì* and he said; *ɲ́kì ɔ́ì* these chiefs.

Middle tone: is not so easily distinguished, and may be confounded with the high tone. Examples: *ɔ̄ŋ̄ŋ̄* cock; the second tone is a little lower than the first, yet it is distinctly not low; *gāt* pl. *gāt* riverbank; *kīŋ̄* in order that.

Rising tone: *gǐ* *kǐn* all of them, *ɔ̄ŋ̄ŋ̌* hyena; (these examples are easy, be-

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

cause a high tone precedes the rising one, the tones are like this: -; mark the difference between "cock" and "hyena"!); *fâk* a water-pot, *yǒ* road, *Dâk* a proper-name.

Falling tone: ŋ̂ tĵk he is absent, *tĵk* is hard. When a high tone is followed by a low tone in the following syllable, the high tone itself sometimes is lowered at its end, so that instead of *°dîò*, sometimes *°dîò* is heard.

High and middle tone: duŋ̀o when? *wí kí mŋ̀o* you and who? *ŋ́* yes.

High-low-high tone: dût dowry.

In the texts and dictionary the high-middle tone is generally rendered by high-low tone.

Examples of words which have the same sounds but different tones:

ápwŋ̀ŋ cock	*ápwŋ̀ŋ* hyena	*kŋ́u* hot season	*kŋ̀ù* a small lizard
kâáŋ́ nebbak-tree	*kâáŋ̀* to spend the night	*wá* which	*wá* aunt
		wár green	*wár* because
kâá skin	*kâá* spittle	*ŋkŋ̀k* a fish	*àkŋ̀k* egret
kŋ̀ŋ̀ flint-stone	*kŋ̀ŋ̀* to be smooth	*wâá* year	*wâá* eye.

But such words are not nearly so frequent here as they are in western Sudan languages; this is so chiefly from three causes:

1. the words consisting of only one consonant and one vowel, which prevail in the western Sudan, are not numerous in the eastern languages, these last having augmented the primitive stem by prefixes and chiefly by suffixes; see 63. These additions were in most cases a sufficient means for distinguishing the stems from each other, thus the distinction by tone became in many words superfluous, and consequently disappeared, or was mechanised.
2. In the eastern languages, at least in some of them, the tone developed into quite a different function, which the western Sudan languages do not have. Here the tone is exclusively *etymological*, that is two or more words which have the same sounds but are of quite different etymology, are distinguished from each other by different tones. In the eastern languages this function is also preserved, but it is almost being suppressed by the *grammatical* function of the tone, that is, *grammatical categories are expressed by difference of tone*. Copious examples for this rule, which is a characteristic feature of the Shi., are given in 122 ss.

A few illustrations will suffice here:

a) singular and plural by different tones:

kŋ̀ŋ́ pl. *kŋ́ŋ́* horse	*dâk* pl. *dĵk* pot
kŋ̀ŋ̀ pl. *kŋ́ŋ̀* dura	*jâak* pl. *jâak* shoulder
kŋ́ pl. *kŋ́* nut	*dŋ̀r* pl. *dŋ̀r* ford
ŋ̀jâ pl. *ŋ̀jâ* mouth	*allâá* pl. *alâá* somersault.

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b) the vocative always receives high tone on the last syllable:
bḭ̀ḭ̀ smith, but in addressing: *bḭ̀ḭ́!* o smith!
mâyi mother, but in addressing: *mâyí!* o mother!
dìtì man, but in addressing: *dìtí!* o man!
Dìt a proper-name, but in addressing: *Dìyí!* o Dìt!

c) The personal pronouns have high tone; see 130. Note also the mechanised tone in the possessive pronouns and the numerals, 134, 152.

d) the tenses and modes of the verb are distinguished by tone:
to eat: present active *chòwò*, passive *chòw*, verbal noun: *chòw*
to work: present active *pḭ̀ɣò*, passive *pwḭ̀ḭ̀*, verbal noun: *pwḭ̀ḭ̀*.

3. Into the Shi. the accentuation or stress (the dynamic tone) has, probably by hamitic influence, been introduced, and it is often difficult to distinguish intonation from accentuation. This is not so much the case in single words, but in groups of words, in which stress is laid on a particular word; generally this is a word with high tone, so that high tone and stress unite on the same word or syllable; and on the other hand, a stress falling on a low tone, raises the tone of the syllable.

Change of Tones.

194 The intonation is in Shi. not of that regularity which is found in the western Sudan languages. Though most changes obey fixed laws, yet many seem rather arbitrary, and I have sometimes met with the baffling fact that a word or a connection of words were, at different times, pronounced with different tones. Generally a word, when pronounced single, has its fixed tone, but in connection with other words the intonation changes very strongly, adapting itself to or contrasting with, its neighborhood (*rhythmical* tone).

Most of the changes may be classified under two headings, viz. assimilations and dissimilations.

Assimilation of Tones.

ɣḭ̀ pl. *ɣḭ̀ɣ* ear; but *ɣḭ̀ɣí kyɛ* ears of the horse
ìdḭ̀ḭ̀ pl. *ìdḭ̀ḭ̀* flower, but *ìdḭ̀ḭ́ ɣaŋ* blossoms of the tree
ìdḭ̀ɣ pl. *ìdḭ̀ɣ* bag; but *ìdḭ̀ɣí dìtì* the bags of the man.

In all these words the plural has low tone; but in connecting the words with a genetive, a high-toned *í* is added; the high tone of this *í* causes the preceding syllable to become also high.

ɣḭ̀ḭ̀ dogs á my, ɣḭ̀ḭ́ḭ́ my dogs; this is analogous to the preceding examples.
kḭ̀ "and", *í* "he", *kí* "said" but connected: *kḭ́ í kí*,
yè I *pḭ̀ɣò* work, *yḭ̀ pḭ̀ɣò* I am working; the low tone of *pḭ̀ɣò* causes the *è* of

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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pâ to add a low tone to its high tone; this low tone on *â* is, however, pronounced but very faintly, sometimes only *á* is heard.

Dissimilation of Tones.

pín thing ún this, but *pín ún this thing*, *pâ ât these things*.
nâné crocodile ún this, but *nâné ún this crocodile*.

Here the reason of the low-toned noun becoming high-toned is the stress which is laid on the noun.

Many references to intonation will be found in the following paragraphs, they are treated there together with the grammatical functions they exercise.

Accentuation.

In words with more than one syllable the accent (or stress) lies on the stem-syllable. When a syllable with low tone has the accent, this low tone frequently becomes high.

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[1] *nó* has low tone; here a high tone is added to it representing the *é* "be", which is dropped, but its tone is preserved.
[2] "he is man where?" of which place is this man? *kpá* originally means place.
[3] "he was not known to his father, but he, his father was known to him."
[4] Probably the wife of the lion.
[5] This is to show that not a single person (lion), not even the cripples, the blind and the deaf, remained at home.
[6] They were left because they could not dance, and so did not fall into the pit.
[7] Who these slaves are, and why the cattle without horns were killed, is not clear.
[8] The leopard skin is the royal robe.
[9] This story vividly recalls that of Genesis chapter 37, and 42—46.
[10] from *tapp*.
[11] Such was the dowry in "the good old time."
[12] instead of *cápate yo*.
[13] of course he ought to have said, "his testicles are as big as this pot," and, "who has a necklace on his neck." Apparently from excitement and confusion the man misplaces his words.
[14] *gik*.
[15] From exhaustion.
[16] from *gárdg*.
[17] will you not have killed a ram?
[18] and the lion, his breast was tired.
[19] I have finished with talking, that is: I shall say no more, (since you will not hear)!
[20] Was a man who was able to change himself into a lion, and into a tree; see below.
[21] The *olam* is a tree with a broad, beautiful shady crown.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

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THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

By M. E. C. Pumphrey.

Orthographical Note.

Shilluk words, other than names of places and proper names, are printed in italics. In any Shilluk word the sound *C H* is represented by *C*; words like Fashoda which are familiar in that form are left unaltered.

There is a Shilluk consonant *ny* pronounced as in the French *ligne*. This has been written *ny* wherever it occurs elsewhere than at the end of a word, where it is written *ñ*. Thus *Nyikang* and *Golbañ* appear, although the first consonant of the former is the same as the last of the latter. This has been done to avoid the confusion which *Golbany* would otherwise cause to the reader unacquainted with Shilluk names. (M.E.C.P.)

CHAPTER I.

Outline of Shilluk History.

"Shilluk" is probably the Arabic version of *Collo*, which is how the Shilluk describe themselves. The singular of *Collo* is *Ocolo*, a word obviously connected with Acholi, the tribe in Equatoria with whom the Shilluk admit a common origin and to whose language the Shilluk tongue is similar.

Shilluk tradition describing the origin of the tribe says that Nyikang, the Shilluk culture-hero, was one of the sons of Okwa, a King of a country "far to the south beside a great lake." Okwa was succeeded by a brother of Nyikang, Duwadh, and Nyikang himself, angry at his failure to become king, led away a party of adherents in a north-westerly direction to a place near Wau on the Bahr el Ghazal called by the Shilluk *Pothe Thuro*. Here he married a daughter of Dimo, the local chief, and stayed there for some years. Then Nyikang

A new hamlet thus founded may remain a single homestead of no great importance in the life of the lineage and none at all in the structure of the settlement. On the other hand the young man who thus breaks away from the hamlet of his birth and up-bringing may prosper and acquire many wives. In this case the off-shoot will develop with rapidity and after three generations may be as large as the parent village. Other kinsmen may join and swell the number of homesteads.

The Shilluk word for hamlet is *Pac* and has two meanings: truly a *Pac* is a hamlet founded by the original immigrant to the settlement where it is situated. Subsequent offshoots are, however, technically included under the name of the central hamlet from which they spring. *Pa Kwar Ajang* may thus refer to the original hamlet founded by *Ajang*. After a few generations the number of associated hamlets and the number of *Nyuic Myer* may be considerable, and *Pa Kwar Ajang* may be used to designate them collectively. Under normal conditions, probably after three generations, but depending entirely on the increase of progeny, and the number of homesteads built by descendants, the offshoot will acquire a separate name and in every day conversation will not be included under the title of the original hamlet. Hamlet names among the Shilluk may or may not have the prefix *Pac* or *Pa*.[1] *Pa Kwar Ding* means the hamlet of *Ding's* descendants. Others have no prefix and the etymological explanation is often hard to find. Some at least have purely descriptive names. Thus *Pac Thin* means the little hamlet and *Panowak* refers to a hamlet situated near the bush. In the settlement of *Yow Dhok Alal*, those hamlets recently built on the north side of the water-course retain the same name as their parent hamlets and indeed are not distinguished from them. Their inhabitants have not gained sufficient numbers or prestige to be regarded as a distinct section of their lineage.

A more detailed examination and analysis of the structure and development of a Shilluk settlement necessitates the use of an example.

1. The letters P and F are interchangeable in Shilluk. Thus *Panda* = *Fanda* (*Fashoda*).

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-S (1943-1944)1946
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In Part III the effigies of these kings are referred to simply as Nyikang and Dak, for they are thus referred to by the Shilluk. 104

Mudir—the Turkish governor of a province, still used in Arabic for a provincial governor.

Khor—Arabic for watercourse; commonly used in the Sudan.

N.B. In the spelling of Shilluk words the sound Ch is represented by "c" in accordance with the agreement made at the Rejaf Language Conference. [197]

RECENT SHILLUK HISTORY

(W.P.G.T.)

From the time when the Turkish Government first occupied Kodok, and called it Fashoda[1] in 1867, the history of the *rethship* has been disturbed; successions have either produced large factions and revolts among the Shilluk, or else successive governments have had to step in to avert major civil war within the tribe. 175 643

During the time of the Turkish regime, the Mahdia, and the early years of the present government, the position of the reigning *reth* was always insecure: he was at any time liable to be ambushed and killed by an ambitious *nyireth*, who fancied his chances of gaining the support of the tribe, and becoming *reth*, in accordance with Shilluk tradition; but he was also liable to be the victim of informations laid against him to the authorities, and to be deposed, or killed by government.

Reth Kwothkey, who was reigning at the time of the Turkish occupation, was deposed by the *mudir* of Fashoda on a suspicion of disloyalty, (*Note 2*) and replaced by a nominee Ajang Nyidhok, who was never accepted by the southern Shilluk. This produced civil war

1. Fashoda the capital of the reth is actually 11 miles upstream of Kodok.